

ATTACHMENT 2

TEXTS OF CHOU'S SPEECH AND STATEMENT

Address to Conference

Honorable chairman, distinguished delegates:

Our conference has made achievements. First of all, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I would like to thank the five Colombo powers for their initiative in sponsoring this conference; to our hosts, the President, the people and Government of the Republic of Indonesia, for their warm hospitality; to the chairman of our conference, the Prime Minister of Indonesia, for his efforts; to all the delegations for their cooperation, and to the jointsecretariat of the conference and the personnel who have taken part in the work of the conference for their valuable contribution.

The achievements of the conference lie in the beginning or furtherance of understanding among the Asian and African countries, and in the achievement of agreements on some major questions. These achievements will be a great help to our common task of opposing colonialism, safeguarding world peace and furthering the friendly cooperation between us. This conference has to a considerable extent satisfied the expectations of the peoples of Asia and Africa as well as of the world.

This conference has also reflected the fact that our approaches to and our views on many questions are different. We have also discussed in part our differences. However, such different approaches and views did not prevent us from achieving common agreements. We have been able to make such achievements in opposing colonialism, safeguarding world peace, and promoting political, economic and cultural cooperation because of the fact that we people in the Asian and African countries share the same fate and the same desires.

For the same reason, I would like to declare once again that the Chinese people extend their full sympathy and support to the struggle of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia for self-determination and independence, to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for human right, to the struggle of the Indonesian people for the restoration of Indonesian sovereignty over West Irian (Netherlands New Guinea) and to the just struggle for national independence and the peoples' freedom waged by all the peoples of Asia and Africa to shake off colonialism.

Relaxation of Tension

I want to point out further that the declaration on the promotion of world peace and cooperation adopted by this conference will help facilitate the relaxation of international tension and, first of all, the tension in the Far East.

It is our view that the full implementation of the agreements on the restoration of peace in Indochina should be guaranteed by the parties concerned.

As to the peaceful unification of Korea, the parties concerned should speedily seek the solution through negotiation.

China and the United States should sit down and enter into negotiation to settle the question of relaxing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan (Formosa) area. However, this should not in the slightest degree affect the just demand of the Chinese people to exercise their sovereign rights in liberating Taiwan.

Finally, I hope that the contacts among the Asian and African countries and the friendly intercourse between our peoples will become more frequent from now on.

I wish all the delegates good health and bon voyage on their health journey. Good-by.

Statement to Committee

Yesterday and today I have heard the views of many delegations and I would like now to put forth proposals of the delegation of the People's Republic of China.

The present world situation is indeed tense but we have not lost hope of peace. As a matter of fact, there are more and more people who stand for peace.

Twenty-nine countries of Asia and Africa came here to this conference and have called for peace. This proves that more than half of the world's population which we represent here wants peace and unity.

This manifestation proves our desire receives support from the majority of nations and peoples of the world. It further proves that it is possible to stop the danger of war.

Therefore, in this conference when we discuss the question of promotion of world peace and cooperation we should take the following stands: We should leave aside our different ideologies, different state systems and the international obligations which we have assumed by joining this side or that side. We should instead settle all questions which may arise against us on the basis of common peace and cooperation.

Some of the delegates have expressed the view the term "peaceful coexistence" is a term used by the Communists. We can then change the term. We should not let ourselves have any misunderstanding merely on this question.

The delegate from Lebanon, when he mentioned this question, went far into the question of ideology. If we follow that example, our discussions will go on interminably and will prove fruitless ultimately.

U. N. Charter Is Cited

Let us use the expression which was used in the preamble of the United Nations Charter: "Live together in peace." We can seek peace and cooperation in accordance with the model of the United Nations Charter.

Secondly, if we talk about cooperation then we, the twenty-nine countries assembled here, should be united in promoting international cooperation and in seeking collective peace. Such a collective peace is not for the purpose of opposing any countries outside Asia and Africa. We are merely starting with Asian-African countries in promoting peace and opposing war.

As far as China is concerned, we are a country led by the Chinese Communist party. We are against formation of ever more antagonistic military alliances in the world because they heighten the crisis of war.

For instance, we are against NATO, the Manila treaty and other similar treaties.

However, if such antagonistic military treaties continue in the world, then we would be forced to find some countries to enter into and sign a similar, antagonistic military alliance in order to safeguard and protect ourselves against aggression.

It is for this reason, basically, that we are against antagonistic military alliances, and now that we have assembled here to discuss problems of common cause and concern and the question of peace we should abandon the idea of such alliances because they are to nobody's good and also it is to no one's good to publicize these treaties.

Let us first of all have a unity among us.

Mutual Understanding

The day before yesterday after lunch I paid a visit to the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He told me that, although Pakistan was a party to a military treaty, Pakistan was not against China. Pakistan had no fear China would permit aggression against her. As a result of that, we achieved a mutual understanding although we are still against military treaties.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan further assured that if the United States should take aggressive action under the military treaty or if the United States launched global war, Pakistan would not be involved in it.

He said Pakistan and India would not be involved in it just as they were not involved in the Korean war.

I am grateful to him for this explanation because through these explanations we achieve a mutual understanding of each other on collective peace and cooperation.

I am sure the Prime Minister of Pakistan will have no objections to these views of mine. Further, I would like to avoid any misunderstanding. I would like to give an explanation or qualification on behalf of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He believes the Manila treaty is defensive in character just as General Romulo said, although I do not believe in the explanation he gave.

As for so-called Communist expansion and Communist subversive activities, the delegates here have been quite courteous. They have only mentioned the Soviet Union without referring to China, but China is also a country which owns a Communist Party. So we feel also involved in it by implication.

Adoption of Principles

I would here submit that we should adopt some principles which not only China but all of us here can follow. We on our part do not want to do anything for the expansion of Communist activities outside our own country. However, if we do not establish any common principles what are we going to do?

When the Prime Minister of China visited India and Burma they put forward these five principles. They accepted these five principles and made commitments on them. We have done this together with the Indian premier to alleviate doubts which many countries have as regards China.

Ever since we entered into these five principles there are more and more countries who are in favor of them.

Prime Minister Nehru told me Mr. Eden, now the Prime Minister of Britain, even agreed to the five principles. I am very glad to hear that. If Prime Minister Eden was prepared to issue a statement with the Prime Minister of China, I think the Prime Minister of China would be the first to sign that statement giving support to the five principles.

Of course, every delegation here could not agree to the wording of these five principles or agree to all the five principles. Therefore, we can re-formulate these five principles to make them agreeable to all the delegates. We can add to these principles or we can subtract from them. In this way we can on the basis of common desire establish these principles with a view to safe-guarding collective peace.

There have been some references to some international organizations. The delegate from Iraq mentioned the Cominform. But there are a great number of other international organizations in the world. We are ourselves displeased with those other organizations.

We are displeased, for instance, with the network of the United States Intelligence Agency because we have been the victims of that agency. Unfortunately, we cannot raise this question at this conference because although these organizations might have some connection with some of our Asian-African countries, we cannot reach any agreement at this conference on these questions. Besides, this is outside our agenda. This should not be raised at this conference.

5 Points Have Become 7

On what basis are we going to do all that? The points on which we can all agree are no longer five. They are seven. I hope we can all agree. With this basis of seven points we on our part would like to give our assurances here that we will carry it out. China is a big country and, besides, China is a country led by the Chinese Communist party. So some people feel that we will not carry them out. So we give you our assurances and we hope that other delegations will do likewise.

The first point. We respect each others' sovereignty and territorial integrity. We will adhere to this principle. Our relations with Burma have proved that we have respected the sovereignty of Burma.

As to respect of territorial integrity, it is stated that China will not and should not have any demand for territory. We have common borders with four countries. With some of these countries we have not yet finally fixed our border line and we are ready to do so with our neighboring countries. But before doing so, we are willing to maintain the present situation by acknowledging that those parts of our border are parts which are uninterrupted. We are ready to restrain our government and people from crossing even one step across our border. If such things should happen, we would like to admit our mistake.

As to the determination of common borders which we are going to undertake with our neighboring countries, we shall use only peaceful means and shall not permit any other kinds of methods. In any case, we shall not change this.

The second point is abstention from aggression and threats against each other. We shall also abide by this principle. There is fear of China on the part of our neighbors. There is Thailand and the Philippines. Since we lack mutual understanding, it is quite natural that they have this fear. But during our contacts this time, we have made assurances to Prince Wan of Thailand and General Romulo of the Philippines that we will not make any aggression or direct threats against Thailand or the Philippines.

We also told Prince Wan of Thailand that even before borderlines are established between our countries, we welcome a delegation from Thailand to visit our inland provinces and see if we have any aggressive designs against others. We have told Prime Minister U Nu that we would very much like to pay a visit with him to that border region, but unfortunately we have no time now. We will see next time.

Welcome Filipinos

There is a notion between China and the Philippines that we have no common border. In spite of that we also welcome a delegation from the Philippines. We welcome the delegation from the Philippines before the establishment of our border lines to visit especially our coastal region, especially Fukien and Kwantung provinces and to see for themselves whether we are carrying out any activities for purposes of directing threats against the Philippines.

The third point. Abstinence from interference or intervention in the internal affairs of one another. This is a question with which the Indochina states are most concerned. During the time of the Geneva conference we made assurances to Cambodia and Laos. We have also told Mr. Eden, the then Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Molotov (Soviet Foreign Minister) about our assurances. Later we also told Prime Minister Nehru and Prime Minister U Nu about our assurances. This time again we make assurances to the delegations of Cambodia and Laos.

We earnestly hope that these two countries will become peace loving countries like India and Burma. We have no intention whatsoever to intercede or intervene in the internal affairs of these two neighboring states of ours. This is our policy toward all countries. We are merely mentioning these two countries as an example.

The fourth point. Recognition of equality of races. This point needs no explanation: we have always regarded that different races are equal. New China has not practiced any discrimination.

The fifth point. Recognition of the quality of all nations, large and small. We attach special importance to this question because we are a big nation. It is easy for big nations to disregard and not have enough respect for small nations. This is an important point. We have stressed this point among our people that they should not have the ideals and ideologies of big nations. It is easy for big nations to disregard small nations and have no respect for small nations. This is the result of tradition.

Glad to Ratify Mistakes

We are constantly examining our behavior towards small nations. If any delegation here finds that he (Mr. Chou) as representative of China does not respect any of the countries which are represented here, please bring this point out. We will be glad to accept criticism and rectify mistakes.

The sixth point. Respect for the rights of the people of all countries who choose freely a way of life as well as political and economic systems. We think that this is acceptable to all. The Chinese people have chosen a way of life as well as political and economic systems in new China. We will not allow any outside interference.

We on our part respect the way of life as well as the political and economic systems chosen by other people. For instance, we respect the way of life and political and economic systems chosen by the American people. We have also told the delegation of Japan (Premier Chou had a talk with the head of the delegation from Japan) that we respect the choice made by the Japanese people. When the Japanese people chose the Yoshida Government we recognized that Government as representing the Japanese people. Now, the Japanese have chosen the Hatoyama Government and we recognize that Government as representative of the Japanese people. The Chinese Prime Minister said the same thing to all the (Japanese) delegation when they visited China.

Point Seven. Abstention from doing damage to each other. Our relations should be mutually beneficial to each other and one side should not do damage to each other. For instance, in our trade, it must be equally and mutually beneficial to one another; neither side should ask for privileges or attach conditions.

China can give assurances in its dealing with the countries represented here and other countries which are represented here. When entering into peaceful cooperation with all countries, when having economic and cultural intercourse with those countries, she will not ask for privileges or special conditions. We will go on an equal basis.

Basis for Cooperation

It is our belief that with these seven points as a basis it is possible to have peace and cooperation among us. It is possible to safeguard peace and, first of all, start with peace among us. In fact, in these seven points we have said in our draft proposal that we Asian-African countries advocate settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and support all measures that are being taken or may be taken to eliminate international tension and promote the growth of peace. In our view, this is acceptable.

In this connection we would like to express our gratitude to the five Colombo powers and to many other countries for the efforts they have made in facilitating the restoration of peace in Indochina.

Likewise, we would like to thank some of the countries represented here, especially India, in the efforts they have made for facilitating and assisting achievement of an armistice in Korea. This has made it possible gradually to remove the antagonism that has appeared on that front.

As to relations between China and the United States, the Chinese people do not want to have war with the United States. We are willing to settle international disputes by peaceful means. If those of you here, would like to facilitate the settlement of disputes between China and the United States by peaceful means it would be most beneficial to the relaxation of tension in the Far East and also to the postponement and prevention of a world war.